

+ 2:9:1677  
*Comparatis Comparandis:*

THE SECOND PART.

OR,

# A P A R A L L E L L

of the former, and later Force, upon  
the two Houses of Parliament.

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*Out of thine owne mouth will I judge thee. Luke 19. 22.*

*Therefore art thou inexcusable, oh Man, whomsoever thou  
art that judgest: for wherein thou judgest another, thou  
condemnest thy selfe; for thou that judgest, doest the same  
things. Rom. 2. 1.*

*Terrena potestas caput Regem. Hugo de Sanct. Vi&t. 1. 3.  
defacr. p. 2. cap. 4.*

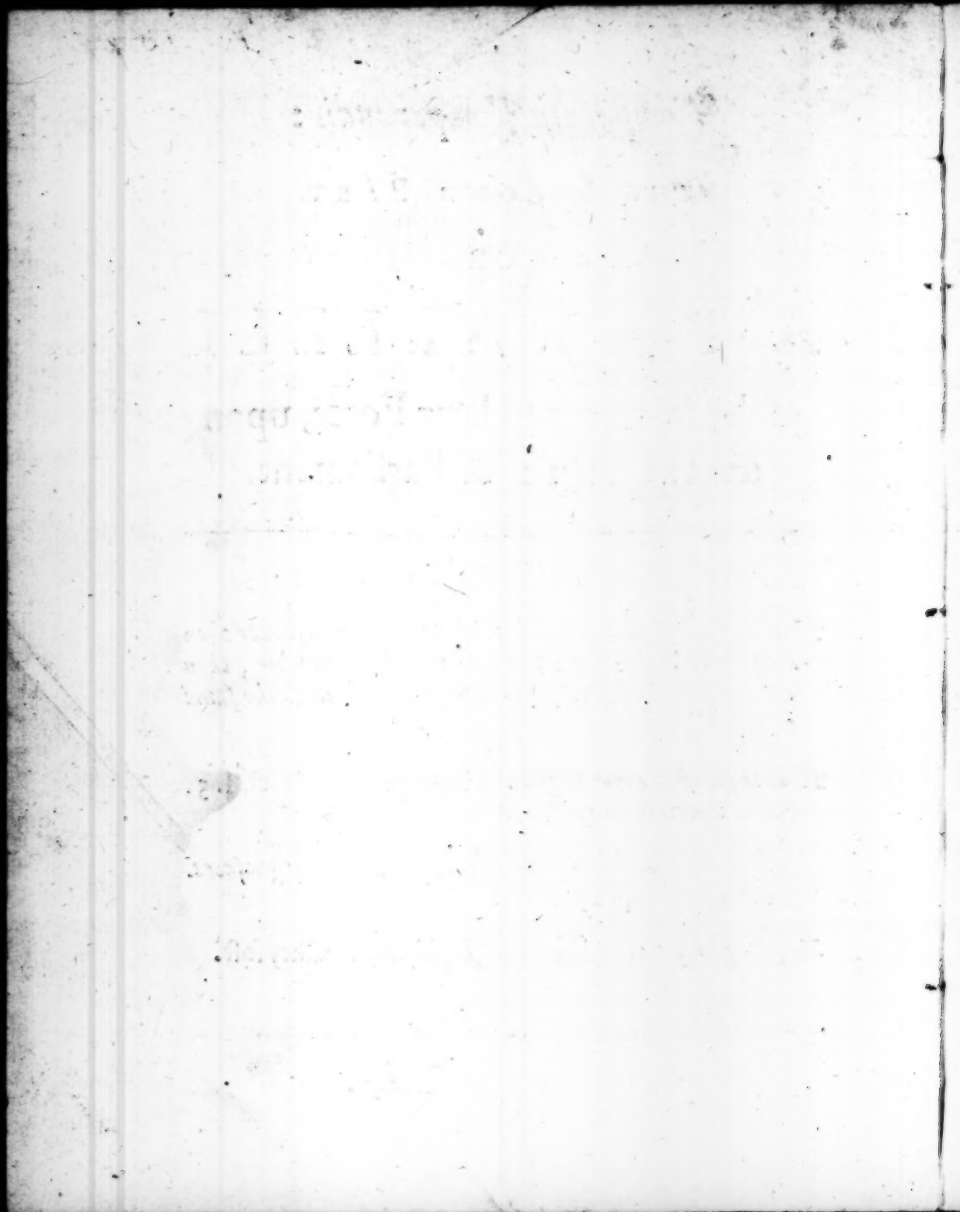
*Regem in temporalibus neminem superiorem recognoscere.  
Innocent. 3. cap. Novit.*

*Neque enim pietatem subvertis ista subiectio. Chrysoft.*

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*printed in London*



Reader:

**T**His Treatise is spent wholly upon the tumults raised, and the Militia of the Kingdome controverted in this Parliament, and that thou maiest the better judge of the following discourse:

First, consider, what that Oracle of the Law hath delivered concerning such Tumults. By the Ancient Law and Custome of Parliament, a Proclamation ought to be made in Westminster in the beginning of the Parliament; that no man upon paine to lose all that he hath, should during the Parliament in London, Westminster, or the Suburbs, &c. weare any privy coate of Plate, or goe armed during the Parliament, and the reason hereof was, that the high Court of Parliament should not thereby be disturbed, nor the Members thereof (which are to attend the arduous and urgent businesse of the Church, and Commonwealth) should be withdrawne.

Cooke 4. pars  
instit. l. 1. of  
the High  
Court of Par-  
liament.

Secondly, consider what his Majesty hath declared concerning the Militia: The Kingdome of England in its Fundamentall Policy (as well) for his owne assurance against the danger of forraine Invasions, as the bad use that might be made of great constant Forces (whether Forraine or Native) is defended by it selfe; every man (according to his ability) providing armes, horses, and men, for that purpose; and those horse, and armes so provided, being still their owne proper goods, and remaining in the custody of each man respectively: And these are the trained Bands, or the Militia of the Kingdome: The calling together of whom, and the training, exercising, and conducting of them, belongs to the King (as the supream Governour)

The Kings  
Dec. of July 1.  
1642.  
Husb. Colle<sup>d</sup>  
of Remon. and  
Orders, 398.

for maintaining the Lawes of the Land, and preserving his owne just Rights and Prerogatives, and protecting the Subject in matter of property, and liberty, whether against private injury or common oppression, or invasion, and so for conserving both the private and publick peace of the Kingdome.

These things premised, I shall stay thee no longer in the Porch, but give thee leave to enter upon the discourse it selfe, as pleasure.



Here was published not long since, a booke intituled, *Prima Pars de Comparatis Comparandis*, or a parallell of the Kings government (as it is set forth in the Remonstrance of Dec. 15. 1641) with the present Government of the two Houses

of Parliament, and in pursuance of that conception, is this *Secunda Pars*, &c. Wherein I shall proceede to compare, and parallell the late force and violence of the Army and City, upon the two Houses, with the former tumults and outrages upon the King, and his Parliament, which followed immediately upon, and from that Remonstrance. The first occasion of the tumults, was this:

A factious and seditious Party in Parliament, complying with the same Party in the City, brought in a Bill, to take away Bishops, roote and branch.

And a seditious and traiterous Party, brought in another Bill, to take the Militia by Sea, and Land, from the King, and to settle it in others.

These Bills being rejected in a full, and free Convention of Parliament, they resolved to revive, and promote them by tumults, force, and violence; and to that end, they

Husb. collect.  
by order of  
Parliament  
Remonsf. Page  
3.

Husb. p. 511.

Husb. pa. 530.  
543.  
See Parall. 4.  
of this boke



they declared in the Remonstrance premised, that the House of Commons had prepared divers good Bills, for a through reformation, both in Church and State; but they were hindered in the House of Peeres, by the Bishops, and Popish Lords, their number and prevalency there. Hereupon the tumultuous people in and about London (of their Party and Confederacy) resort to Westminster with swords and clubs, crying no Bishops, no Bishops, no Popish Lords. And they threatned to pull downe the Lodgings where divers of the Bishops lay, and assaulted some in their Coaches, chased others with Boates by water, and layed violent hands on the Bishop of Yorke in his passing to the House; also they misused severall other Members of either House, who they were informed favoured not their desperate and sedicious ends, proclaiming the names of severall of the Peeres, as cvill and rotten hearted Lords, and assaulting, and cvill intreating some of the Members of the House of Commons, even at the doore of that House, resolving either to force their votes, or to hinder them from voting: And this was done at severall times, and upon severall occasions, when any thing was likely to be carryed against them.

Whereupon the House of Peeres twice very earnestly desired the House of Commons that they would for the dignity of Parliament joine with them in a Declaration for suppressing such Tumults; but instead thereof speeches were made in justification of them. And afterwards when the Lords by the direction of the Judges had given order to the Justices of the Peace, and other Officers about Westminster, to endeavour the suppressing of Tumults, one of the Justices for doing his duty therein was sent to the Tower.

Husb. p. 18. 19.

See paralel. 34.

Husb. p. 41. 42. and 533.

See par. 30.

Husb. p. 533.

Husb. p. 532. See par. 30.

Husb. 532. 547.

Husb. p. 532.

Husb. p. 532. See par. 37.

Husb. 532.

Justice Long.

And as that Remonstrance inflamed the people against the Bishops, and severall members of both Houses of Parliament: So did it incense and irage them also against the King, and his Government. And those tumultuous Rioters utter traiterous speeches against his Majesty, as they passe along the streets to Westminster; and in their returne from thence they make a stand at White hall Gate, and say,

Husb. 533.

They will have no more Porters Lodges, but would speake with the King when they pleased.

Husb. p. 30.

Heereupon his Majesty, sensible of his owne, and the Parliaments great disturbance and danger, by those Tumults, sent a Message to the Lord Mayor of London, requiring him for the time to come to take speciall care for the preventing the like tumults, as far as in him lay; and when none of these courses could prevaile; but the people grew more and more outrageous and insolent, his Majesty (well knowing who they were that first raised and invited the tumultuous people to Westminster, and seeing to what end they were raised, by force to compell the Parliament to order, limit, and dispose their votes, and proceedings in such manner as might best conduce to their factious and traiterous designes) exhibiteth Articles of high treason against the Lord *Kimbolton*, (now Earle of *Manchester*) and against the five Members, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Hollis*, Sr. *Arthur Haslerigge*, and Mr. *Stroode*.

Husb. p. 34.

1. That they have traiterously endeavoured to subvert the Fundamentall Lawes, and Government of this Kingdome, and to deprive the King of his Regall Power, and to place in Subjects an Arbitrary and Tyrannicall Power.

See par. 18.

2. That

2. That they have endeavoured by many false aspersions upon his Majesty, and upon his Government, to alienate the affections of his people, and to make his Majesty odious unto them.

3. That they have traiterously endeavoured to subvert the Rights and very beings of Parliaments.

4. That for the compleating of their traiterous designs they have endeavoured as far as in them lay, by force and terrour to compell the Parliament to joyn with them in their traiterous designs, and to that end have actually raised, and countenanced tumults against the King and Parliament. See par. 30.

And upon these Articles, his Majesty expected, that either House would have sequestred its Members, and committed them to safe custody, that they might have beene brought to a legall and speedy tryall.

But the Houses did nothing lesse, and the accused Members remove themselves into the City, and as they not long before maintained the tumultuous Citizens against the Lords; so those Citizens maintaine the traiterous Members against the King. And the Commoncounsell of London, now altered by undue practises, place unusuall Watches, and Guards in the City, under the command of Sergiant Major Generall *Skippon*, (as is pretended) for the safety of the City, and protection of the Members: Nor so only, but (*Jan. 11.*) the trained bands of London, and Westminster, guard those accused Members from their residence in the City in an hostile and warlike manner to Westminster, and neere one hundred Lighters, and long Boats were set out by water, laden with Sakers, and Murdering Pieces, and other Ammunition, dressed up with waste cloathes and streamers, Husb. 37.

as

as ready to fight : And in this Array , the Marriners by water, and the Souldiers by Land, as they passe at Whitehall, asked what was become of the King, where was he?

And now maugre his Majesties accusation of high treason , they take courage againe , and revive the matter of the Bill exhibited , for transferring the Kings Power by Sea and Land , into other hands ; and the House of Commons desire the Lords to joyne with them in petitioning his Majesty, that the Militia of the Kingdome may be put into such hands , as both Houses did confide in ; but it was twice carried Negatively, by the votes of much the major part of Lords : Hereupon (*Ian. 31.*) the poore people about London petitioned the House of Commons against those Lords , as Malignants and Disturbers of their Peace, & desire to know their names, and threaten to remove them, and Mr. *Hollis* made a speech to the Lords, enforcing the Petition at a conference ; Whereupon divers Lords being discontented went away , and the vote in order to the Militia passed ; being at least twice before rejected by double their number who consented to it, when there was no Popish Lords present, and 12 Bishops in the Tower. And since that time, they have been able to carry any thing upon the matter , the resolution of the House of Commons have been wholly guided by those persons, who had given so plaine evidence, that they had the Multitude at their command, and hath wholly guided the House of Peeres, who have for the most part submitted to whatsoever hath been brought to them.

Thus have I shewed the Rise , progresse, and successe of the tumults , in *Decemb.* and *Ian. 1641* : And now I shall compare them with the forcible practises of the City, and the Army upon the two Houses in 1647. And you

Husb. 59.

Husb. 548.

See par. 30. 36.  
37

See par. 30.

you shall see, how in this case the City chargeth the Army in their Declaration of *July 31*. And how the Army chargeth the City in their Remonstrance of *August 18*. And how whilst they accuse one another of those latter, they condemne themselves of the former Tumults.

*A Parallell of divers Passages in the Cities Declaration of July 31. 1947.*

*Wee for our parts, shall not presume to deliver any thing of our sence upon that which hath beene altered, acted, or consented unto by both Houses, at the instance, interposition, or importunity of the Army.* Parallel 1.

You meane, the revocation of the Remonstrance against the Armes Petition; the continuance of the Army under a settled pay, after their votes for disbanding it; the owning this Army for their owne, notwithstanding their tumultuary proceedings; the putting of the Militia, and all forces of the Kingdome under Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his command; after his and the Armes refusall to be commanded by the Houses, or to obey their votes: The removall, and disposall of the Kings Person, as the Army shall direct; the discountenancing, and disperfing of those Officers and Souldiers, who, in obedience to their votes deserted the Army; the Declaration against the introducing of Forraigne Forces; the Impeachment, Charge, and dismission of the eleaven Members, and the altering of the Militia of London.

And werenot things in like manner altered, acted, or consented unto by both Houses, at the instance, interposition, or importunity, of the City formerly?

*Then you tell us particularly,*

Par. 2.

*What violation the Priviledges of the House of Commons suffered, when the eleven accused Members were enforced by the Army to withdraw themselves; after it was declared upon the Question, That by the Lawes of the Land no judgement can be given to suspend these Members, nor any of them from sitting in the House, upon the Papers presented from the Army, before particulars produced and proofes made.*

*And were not the Priviledges of the House of Peeres, and the Lawes of the Land violated in like manner, when the Earle of Strafford, the Arch Bishop of Canterbury, and the 12 B shops were suspended from sitting in that House, and committed first to the Black Rod, and afterward to the Tower, upon a generall charge only, and before particulars produced, and proofes made?*

Hasb. p. 43.

*And is it not remarkable, that Mr. Glan, who accused those Bishops, and desired the Lords that they might be forthwith sequestred from Parliament, and put into safe custody, should now be sequestred, and committed upon the like accusation?*

Par. 3.

*It is evident, what great influence the Army hath throughout upon the Counsells of the Parliament.*

*And hath not the City had the like influence throughout, untill of late they were mastered by the power of the Army?*

Par. 4.

*Although this Army be invested with the whole power of the Land Forces of this Kingdome, under pay of the Parliament: And there is nothing left that can probably make any considerable resistance: Yet they demand the change of the Militia of the City of London, after it had been established by*

*by Ordinance of Parliament, and desire it to be put into other hands.*

And although his Maieſty offered to grant Commiſſions to thoſe that they had nominated to be Lords Lieutenants of the ſeverall Counties, for calling together, training, exerciſing, and conducting the Militia, or Trained Bands of the Kingdome, to reſiſt invaſions from abroad, and to ſuppreſſe Rebellions and inſurrections at home, and ſo to defend, and ſecure the Kingdome, then pretended by them to be in danger, yet the two Houſes of Parliament were not content therewith. Not will the chiefe Authors, and Promoters of the deſigne now in hand, ſubmit any longer to the Ancient forme of Government, and adminiſtration in this kinde; but (aiming rather to put the two Houſes into a poſture of inreſiſtable power, then the Kingdome into poſture of ſure defence) they require for them in effect the whole power both in the diſpoſition and in the execution of the Militia of the Kingdome.

And (whatſoever they pretended) this their demand of the Militia, was not to oppoſe any preſent inſurrexi- on, rebellion, or invaſion; but to ſet up their affected and intended Domination. And their alteration of the ſet- tled order of the Militia was not for the better ſecuring of the Kingdome, but for their better entering upon the Government, fiſt in the Militia, and afterward in other particulars by the power, and meanes of the Militia. And ſo have they to this day executed the Militia according- ly, not to the ſuppreſſing of any inſurrections, rebellions, or invaſions, attempted and made againſt the King, and the Lawes of the Land, and the eſtabliſhed government of the Kingdome, (for which at firſt it was ordained and

Husb. 73. 91.

See par. 16.

Husb. 191.

See par. 17.

See the Ord.  
for ſetting the  
Militia.

Husb. 83.

See par. 18.

22. 31.

See par. 7.

See the 19.

Propoſitions.

Husb. 307.

Wiſneſſe their

protection of

Sir Jo. Ho-

tham in the

buſineſſe of

Hull.

Husb. 152. 163



instituted.) But to the setting, and establishing of a pretended Sovereignty in the two Houses of Parliament, and to the enforcing subjection to them, and obedience to their Votes, and Ordinances, and submission to their usurped Dominion; and to the suppressing of all opposition, whether at home, or from abroad, attempted, and made against them, their designe, their State, and government. And for these reasons, at first they desired the Militia, and endeavoured from time to time, to possess themselves of it, and resolved not to give over, till by some meanes or other, they had attained it, and re-modelled it, and the Government, and the Kingdome by it.

Witness the  
Hochams, Mr.  
Carew, eleven  
Members.  
See par. 17.

See the Propositions afore-  
sayd.

Par. 5.

*And having experience, how formerly the Army have ever insisted upon any thing they once demanded, &c.*

And have wee not had the like experience of the City formerly?

Par. 6.

*And therefore, being thus awakened by the unexpected and undeserved interposition of the Army, in the Militia of the City, &c.*

Husb. 61. 94

As his Majesty was awakened by your interposition in the Militia of the Kingdome, which is the only safeguard and security of his Person and Crowne.

Par. 7.

*Wee could not in honour doe lesse, than wee have done to preserve our interest in so great a part of our Government.*

Nor could the King in honour doe lesse then he did to preserve his interest in so great a part of his government, as is the Militia of the Kingdome, which indeed is nothing else but the power of the sword, which God hath put into his hands for the discharge of his Kingly Office, in protecting and governing his people.

Par. 8.

*But if this vindication of our Right in the Militia of this City,*



*City, shall be thought by the Army to be a just cause to cast themselves upon extraordinary courses; let God, the Kingdome, and the whole world be Judges betweene them and us.*

And let God, the Kingdome, and the whole world be Judges betweene his Majesty, and your Party, whether the vindication of his Right in the Militia of the Kingdome, were a just cause to cast them upon those extraordinary courses that they have taken.

*Neither can wee see why the Army should take notice of* <sup>Par. 9.</sup> *our Petition, and ingagement, is being only intended to the Common Hall, but never presented; even as the Petition of their Souldiery was to their Generall, which being taken notice of by the Parliament, as it was in agitation, was then so deeply resented by the Souldiery.*

Neither can wee see why the Parliament did take <sup>no-Husb. 563.</sup> notice of Captaine Leggs Petition, heretofore prepared and intended only.

*Wee declare unto the whole Kingdome the bottomes of our hearts and affections, as in relation to his Majesty, whom wee* <sup>Par. 10.</sup> *have alwaies, and shall ever acknowledge to be our true and only Soveraigne, although his Royall Person hath been divided from us.*

Being driven away first by tumult, and afterward kept away by force of Armes, and so not suffered either to stay with you in safety, or returne to you with security.

*Wee have with much longing attended what the Army* <sup>Par. 11.</sup> *would propound concerning his Majesty in particular, according to the great expectation which they have raised in the people, from that which they have hinted in their Declaration, or representation, and other Papers of their intentions towards his Majesty. But hitherto the time hath been spent, and nothing done, but to get the whole power of the Kingdome,*

*and City into their hands.*

And did not the two Houses at the beginning in their Declarations pretend as much for the King, only to get the power of the Kingdome into their hands?

Par. 12.

*Wee therefore doe in the presence of Almighty God professe, that there is nothing in the world that wee more desire then that his Majesty may be put, and left free in such honorable condition and capacity, as his Person may appeare to be at liberty to receive, and treat, upon such Propositions, as shall be presented unto him. For our consciences tells us, that whilst his Royall Person is environed by an Army, and remaines under the power thereof wee cannot expect that either his Majesties Princely heart can give that free assent unto those things which shall be propounded unto him, as is requisite, or if he doe, wee cannot hope with good reason, that wee and our Posterity shall without alteration enjoy them.*

And why is not the King as free to these intents, and purposes, under the power of the Army, as when he was at Newcastle, or Holmby, or would have been, had he been sent to Warwick Castle?

Par. 13.

*Wee cannot omit also to declare unto the Kingdome, how wee have sadly observed since the cleaven accused Members withdrew themselves, that the Army hath daily grown upon the Parliament.*

Just as the City grew upon it, after they had driven away the King, and his Party by tumults.

Par. 14.

*And wee shall particularly insist upon the readmission of the cleaven Members lately driven out of the House of Commons, by the violent pursuit of the Army.*

And why not for the readmission of the Members of both Houses pursued, and driven away by tumults formerly?

*Wee*

*We should expresse our selves farther to vindicate this* Par. 15:  
*City before the Kingdome, from the aspersions that have been*  
*cast upon us, to have beene the first promoters and contrivers*  
*of this unnaurall Warre.*

And did not your money and plate ( brought in upon Husb. 339.  
 the Propositions ) paye the first Army, June 10. 1642. ? See par. 16.  
 And did not that Army consist principally of Apprentices and others, living in, and about the City of London ?

*But God is our witnesse, how desirous we have beene at all* Par. 16.  
*times and still are, of a safe and well grounded peace.* Wit-  
 nesse your Petition in August 1643. The story is this:

The House of Peeres resolved on Propositions of See Par. 30.  
 peace to be sent to his Majesty, and they sent them to the House of Commons ; where they were carried by 29 voices ; heereupon a Petition was framed By Alderman Pennington, and others, and presented to the House of Commons, and the Petitioners censure the Propositions as destructive of Religion, Lawes, and Liberties ; and the Petition is attended by a great multitude of meane Persons, who menaced, and reproached the Members of both Houses. And so the Propositions, formerly received, were rejected, and all thoughts of Peace layd aside.

*And thus wee have heerein truly stated the matter of* Par. 17.  
*difference (if it can be called any) betwixt us, and the Army,*  
*to wit, this alone, that wee could not submit the Militia of the*  
*City to be altered at the pleasure of an Army.*

And this also was the matter of difference betwixt the King, and the two Houses, to wit, that his Majesty could not submit the Militia of the Kingdome, which is See Par. 4.  
 inherent in the Crowne, to be altered at the pleasure of a Party of Lords, and Commons, abiding at Westminster, after

after that a Bill in the House of Commons, and severall motions to the Lords for that alteration, had beene rejected, when there was a full and free Convention of Parliament.

*A Parallell of divers passages in the Armies Remonstrance, of August 18. 1647.*

Par. 18.

*When the adverse Forces and Garrisons within this Kingdome, were dissipated and reduced, we found immediately the crosse working of a strong and prevalent party in the Parliament and Kingdome, who being men of corrupt and private ends and interests, made use of their power to drive on designs, to set up a party, and faction in the Parliament, and Kingdome and (by the advantage of a perpetuall Parliament) to domineere over, and inflave the Kingdome to posterity.*

And did not his Majesty immediately after the Parliament assembled, finde the crosse working of the same party? And did not he Declare them to bee men of corrupt and private ends, and to make use of their power to drive on designs, to overthrow Monarchy, and to set up their Party, and to domineere over us, and to inflave us to posterity? And did not his Majesty impeach them accordingly? And did not you of the Independent way joyne with them in their Designs? And are not some of your Party joyned also in the Articles of impeachment? And at this day is there not emulation betweene them and you for Preheminence; and contention for the Rule and Government?

*To which ends, as before this Parliament the ignominious names of Puritan, and Non conformists, were made use of; so they have used the odious name of Brownists, Anabaptists, Independents, &c.* Par. 19.

And for compassing of your ends, did not you and they, make use of the odious and ignominious names of Malignants, ill affected, enemies to the State &c. to blast those men who stood for the Laws of the Land, the right of the Crowne, the Legall Liberty of the Subject, and the just Priviledges of Parliament?

*In pursuance of their designs, they endeavoured and prevailed, to put out of all places of power or publique trust, the most sober and conscientious men: and closing with a very powerfull party in the City of London, they first endeavoured and prevailed, to new modell the Common Councell, and forme it to their owne Party.* Par. 20.

And did not you and they, doe the same from the beginning? Husb. 537.

*By their continuall violent and pressing importunity at the Parliament doores, they wrung from the Parliament an Ordinance for altering the Militia of the City, which hath speciall influence upon the City, and Kingdome, & Parliament it selfe.* Par. 21.

And did not the like violence and importunity, at first extort the altering the Militia of the Kingdome?

*They cause the Militia of London to bee put into the hands of men, given up and engaged to the private interest and designs of a factious party. They designed, and went about to put the Kingdome to the expence and trouble of raising and forming a new force, (under pretence) as for the service of Ireland; but indeed to serve their owne ends, and purposes aforesayd, in England.* Par. 22.

And did not you and they so from the beginning? Husb. 537.

Par. 23.

*Their engagement was not only to put the Army off without the honour and satisfaction due to it, for the service it had done, but to disband it on such termes, as to subject and expose them and their party unto oppression and undoing.*

And I wish that your not disbanding tend onely to your owne preservation, and not to others eppressions and undoing.

Par. 24.

*Before our disbanding we desired also the settling of the peace of the Kingdome, and the securing the common rights and liberties thereof, which we were called out to defend & vindicate*

And are not those common rights and liberties found in *Magna Charta*, and in the Petition of Right? And doe you defend and vindicate them? And is not Peace the tranquillity of Order, Politicall peace the tranquillity of Politicall Order, and of Monarchicall in a Monarchy? And doe you endeavour to settle the peace of the Kingdome accordingly?

Par. 25.

*We hold most just equall, and necessary, the positive suspension of those impeached Members, from sitting in the Houses as Iudges in their owne cause, and from their power in Committees, whereby they had advantage to raise war against us.*

But you held the contrary in the case of the Members impeached by his Majesty.

Par. 26.

*And finding the impeached Members continue, in, and about London, very active, and busie, to raise war, and make disturbances in the Kingdome: and that the Committee of the Militia there did comply with them therein &c.*

And were not the five Members equally active and busie, and was there not the like compliance betweene them and the City, in raising war against the King, and disturbing the Kingdome?

Par. 27.

*We made a particular addresse to the Parliaments: for the*

*the restoring of the City Militia into those hands, in which it was before the Ordinance of the fourth of May last, and for Repealing that Ordinance, by which it had beene changed.*

And were not your addressses for restoring the Militia such as the Cities, for altering it? I appeale to your own consciences, whether you made that proposall, with submission to a free debate, and determination of Parliament, or not rather with a full resolution to have it passed, and granted? And if need were, to importune and presse, the passing and granting of it? I appeale also to the consciences of those that passed it, whether they did not more looke upon the partyes interessed in the businesse, then the businesse it selfe? And whether they did re-peale their former Act for any injustice in the Ordinance or not rather out of affections, or cowardly compli-See Par. 22.ance with the Army, then more prevalent then the City?

*For the reasonablenesse of our desires, wherein wee dare*Par. 23.  
*confidently appeale to all men, whether for the present safety and quiet of the City, upon such a change, and to prevent those dangers, or disturbances, to, or in the City, which the want of a Militia during the Intervall ( betwixt the ceasing of one, and new forming of another ) might give occasion, and advantage unto. And whether as a tyme when jealousies and disturbs were both so rife and hurtfull, there could be any proposall more reasonable, or hopeful, to beget a confidence, and acquiescence, both in the Parliament, City, and Army, then, &c,*

And I dare confidently appeale to all men, whether for the safety and quiet, of the Kingdome at that time, to prevent those dangers, or disturbances, to, or in the Kingdome, which the want of a Militia, during intervall



betwixt ceasing of one, and new forming of another, might give occasion, and advantage unto: And at that time, when jealousies and distrusts were rise, betweene the King and the Parliament mutually, and really greater, on the Kings side, then on the Parliaments, there could be any Propollall more reasonable, or hopefull to beget a confidence and acquiescence on both sides, then that which his Majestie made, viz. To put the Militia of the Kingdome into the hands of those, they had recommended to him; promising also to continue the same, to such time as there should be cause. Besides, his Majesty would have passed an Act, not to have done any thing, in the execution of the Militia, without the advice of both Houses of Parliament, for a yeare, hoping in that time, their Businesse might be done, for which at first, they seemed to desire it, which was, that they might securely consider of his Majesties Message, of Jan. 20.

Husb. 54. 64.

Par. 29.

*They did contrive and set on foote, in the City, and many of them entered into a mischievous, and desperate Vow and Engagement, tending to the subversion of the freedome of Parliament, and liberties of this Nation.*

See par. 23.

And have not you, and they, managed all your Vows, Protestations, and Covenants, accordingly? For all those ties and obligations, have not you invaded our freedome and liberties, whensoever they stood in your way, and were opposite too, or hinderances of your Designes? And when at any time, you undertooke the vindication of them, was it not done meerely for your better advantage, and in order to your Designes onely?

Par. 30.

*On Munday, July 26. A Petition was brought to the Parliaments by the Sheriffs, &c. for the returning of the Militia into those hands, in which it was put by the Ordinance of the*



*the fourth of May, which Petition was immediately followed, and backed with a tumultuous confluence of Apprentices, and other dissolute and desperate persons, who committed most horrid and unheard of violence upon both Houses &c. Neither did the Guard from the City, that then attended the Houses, nor the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, nor any Authority in the City, take any course to suppress the said Tumult, &c. And July 30. there were printed Tickets fixed upon posts, in and about the City, inciting the same persons to the like confluence at Westminster, against the Houses next sitting. By which means, the Speakers of both Houses, together with most of the Lords, and a very great number of the Members of the House of Commons, were driven away, so as they could not with safety attend their service in Parliament, nor with freedom discharge their Trust, to the Kingdome therein.*

*And were not Petitions attended and backt in like manner, and were there not the like violencies and confluences formerly? And was there not as little care taken by the City for suppressing them? And were there not Tickets fixed upon posts, inviting the Multitude, to accompany the aforesaid Petition, in August 1643? at the delivery whereof, were not diverse Members of both Houses assaulted, viz. The Earles of Northumberland, Holland, &c. And thereupon did not the Earles of Bedford, and Holland, goe away to Oxford, and Northumberland to Petworth? And did not diverse other Members of both Houses withdraw themselves, because they could not with safety attend their service in Parliament, nor with freedom discharge their trust to the Kingdome therein?*

*Notwithstanding, divers Members of both Houses, to Par. 31. carry on their Designs, when very few were left, but of*

their owne Party, did continue to meet, in the usual places at Westminster, and tooke upon them the name of both Houses of Parliament, and did proceede to Vote and Act as a Parliament.

Bnt have we not just such a Parliament, ever since the Tumults, 1541?

Par. 32.

And first the said Members of the House of Commons, called in, as to the service of the House, the eleven impeached Members: and with this pretended House of Commons, and foure or five Lords of the same Modell, for an House of Peeres, they proceeded to set up a Committee for safety, whereof all, or most of the impeached Members, were a part; and they appoynt themselves to joine with the Committee of the City Militia, and they gave them large powers for raising of Forces, appoynting cheife Commanders, and other Officers; and raising a new Warre in this Kingdome, in justification, prosecution, and maintenance of their Treasonable Engagement, and of the forces and violence done to the Parliament: and to oppose and hinder the Restitution of the Houses of Parliament to their honor and freedome (though the pretences were for the defence of the King, Parliament, and City, then alleadged to bee in danger, when indeed, none were in danger, but onely the authors, actors, and abettors, of the trayterous practices aforesaid.) And this further appeared hereby. That those very Apprentices, Reformadoes, and others about the City, who were the cheife actors in the said Engagement, and Tumult, were afterwards, most trusted, and employed, and most active in their preparations for Warre.

See pag. 37.

And were not yours and their proceedings, in every circumstance, the same formerly? After you had engaged your selves in the two treasonable Bills, to take away  
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from the King, the government of the Church, by Archbishops, Bishops, &c. and to take out of his hand the Militia of the Kingdome, Did not you in the first place endeavour to new modell both Houses of Parliament? And did you not rayse tumults to that purpose? And did you not rayse a war afterwards, in justification, prosecution, and maintenance of your Treasonable engagements, and of the force and violence done to the Parliament, and to oppose and hinder the restitution of the Houses of Parliament, to their honour and freedome, and of his Majestie to his just Rights, Power, and Government, (though at that time you pretended the defence of the King, Parliament, and City, then alleadged to bee in danger, when indeed none were in danger, but only the authors, actors, and abettors of the traiterous practises aforesayd) and those very men, in, and about the City, who were the chiefe actors in those engagements, and tumults, were they not afterwards most trusted, and imployed, and most active in the first preparations for war?

*The true ends of all their proceedings were the same with Par. 33. the said Treasonable engagements and tumult against the Parliament: all of them concerning (as in other things) especially in this (viz.) to have the King brought up to London, without delay, or any neerer approach of the Army.*

As all their and your proceedings formerly concentred in this. To drive him away from London, that so you might enter upon the government: and as at present, your proceedings concenter in this, to keepe him from London, and from his government. But I see no reason why (if you please) his Majesty may not forthwith returne to London, for ought you remonstrate. For I suppose, you insist not on the Resolutions of both Houses, and both Kingdomes in that

*this case, since they also Resolved that his Majesty should abide at Holmby, but you seized his sacred person, and brought him thence. They resolved also, that his Majesty should remove to Richmond, but you would not suffer him to goe thither. And whereas you proposed, That the King might not come neerer, then the Quarters of the Army, to the City. You have now the City under your power, and may Quarter in it at pleasure. Besides there is no doubt, upon the termes you propose, but that the King will come to the Parliament, as you desire, not so much in place, as in affection and agreement. Upon such termes as may render both him and the Kingdome safe, quiet, and happy. And tis not likely, that his coming upon these termes can produce greater disturbances and distractions, but peace indeed, if you keepe to your Remonstrance, and bottome your peace on grounds of common and publique welfare and security, and not shape and mould it, only to the private advantage of a particular party, or faction.*

And heerein be sure to avoyd what you charged upon the Presbyterians, That they would make such a Peace with the King (if any) as would only serve to set up and stablish their owne greatnesse, and the affected domination of themselves and their party over all others.

*But to returne to our purpose :*

*By what hath beene declared and published from us, and from the speakers, and aforesayd Members of both Houses it may appeare how maliciously, treacherously and unworthily, we have beene dealt withall by those our enemies, and by a factious and powerfull party (especially) in the Parliament and City combining with them.*

And to what hath been published by his authority, and by the Lords and Commons at Oxford (in their Declaration

ration of the 9. Mart. 1643. setting forth the reasons of their going away from Westminster) it may appeare, how they were dealt withall, by both parties in the Parliament and City combining together.

*The Houses being thus restored to a condition of present safety, honour, and freedom, It is absolutely necessary that there be speedy and exemplary justice done upon (at least) the chiefe authors & abettors of the said treasonable engagement, and of the said force done to the Parliament, and upon the chiefe actors, in maintenance and prosecution thereof.* Par. 35.

Or rather upon the chiefe authors, abettors, and maintayners of the former engagements, force and violence, which till done, the Houses cannot be restored to their native and primitive safety, honour, and freedom.

*The Right Honourable the House of Peeres, have since their Restitution, begun and proceeded to declare null and void all that was done in the name of both Houses, while they lay under the power of the tumultuous violence.* Par. 36.

And consequently, they declare null and voyd all that hath beene done in the name of both Houses, from Dec. 1641. to this present day, since the Parl. as it was first convened, hath all this time layen under the power of violence, tumultuous or military.

*Yet the House of Commons hath not onely not concurred with the Lord. in any of those things, but rather seem to have cast them aside: and the Members of that House, who after the violence done, and in the absence of the Speakers, and others proceeding in the name of that House made the pretended Votes Orders, and Ordinances aforesaid, and were the chiefe actors thereupon, for leaying of war, in prosecution & maintenance of the engagements and tumults, being conscious of their owne guilt and danger thereby, and presuming on their*  
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See par. 3 a.

interest in the House, in order to obstruct and avoid the bringing of any to justice, who have acted under their pretended authority, knowing it to be their own case and concernment, in point of impunity, as well as conducing to their faction and interest: for that cause they labour (as for life) to uphold the things past and done, and the authorities given by them and their faction (in their and the Apprentices Parliament.) yea and those very Votes wrested by force July 26. And they are strengthened by the concurrence of divers other Members also, who having perhaps with harmlesse intentions continued to sit with them, may yet feare themselves to bee involved in the same case and danger, by having sate with them: And thus by the concurrence of both these parties, we find an absolute obstruction to the bringing to justice or questioning of any who have acted as aforesayd. but all seeme to be either justified, or at least protected from justice, by the power and prevalence of those Members in Parliament who are many of them (as we can make appeare) equilly guilty of, and others) in some kind obnoxious for the same things.

And in point of the tumults, did not the same House in like maner refuse the Motions, and oppose the Order of the House of Peeres for repressing them? and did not the guilty Members by their interest in the House, obstruct the questioning of those that had acted in those Tumults, knowing it to be their own case & concernment, in point of impunity, as well as conducing to their faction and interest? and did not both your parties labour (as for life) to uphold what was past and done in those tumults? yea and that very Vote in the Lords House concerning the Militia Jan. 31. when that insolent and minatory Petition of the poore people, in and about London, was after a more insolent and minatory maner by *M. Hollis* inforced upon that House?

*I should now or hereafter (while the Parliament sits) draw off the Army from about the City, without exemplary justice upon some, would not the same, or more dangerous tumults and violence probably returne upon the Parliament, especially, when they shall have before their eyes, the discouragement of that impunity and protection which they have hitherto found from within the Parliament it selfe, in the past practises afore mentioned.* Par. 28. 29

And is exemplary Justice to be now first done in this kinder? did not his Majesty require it of you, and them, againe and againe, many yeares since? And probably, may not the late force and violence fall upon the Parliament, for want of exemplary Justice formerly, and by reason of that discouragement of impunity and protection, which they evermore found within the Parliament it selfe? And I wish you had beene as carefull in preserving the freedome of Parliament heretofore, as you seeme to be at present; or that you had not beene as industrious in violating it then, as you seeme to be studious in preserving it now: But that was done for the promoting, and this for the advancing of your cause, and party, and so this be done, whether with, or without the freedome of Parliament, whether by the preservation, or violation of it, it matters not. Husb. 531. 537-561. See par. 29.

*But what hopes of justice, or a timely dispatch, can wee have, whilest such a prevailing party of men interested, and concerned in the same things, shall in the House of Commons continue to be judges thereof, or at least be ready to avow, and justify the offenders therein.* Par. 39.

And for the same reason, was not the King without hope of justice, against those that were the authors and abettors of the former tumultuous practises and proceedings?



Par. 40.

*the appeal to all men, whether it be just or tollerable, that any priviledge of Parliament should (contrary to the Law of Nature) make any man judge in his owne cause and concernment.*

And yet have not you and they, meerely by the priviledge of Parliament, contrary to the Law of Nature, made your selves Judges in all Causes from the beginning, betweene the King, the two Houses of Parliament, and your selves?

Par. 41.

*And we doe protest, and declare, that if any of those Members, who during the absence of the Speakers, and the rest of the Members of both Houses (forced away by the tumultuous violence aforesaid) did sit in the pretended Houses, then continuing at Westminster, and Vote for the raising a new Warre, or for the Kings comming forthwith to London shall hereafter intrude themselves to sit in Parliament, we cannot any longer suffer the same.*

And O that you had the like resentment, of the former force and violence, done upon the Members of both Houses of Parliament: And that you had the like indignation and resolution against those that drove them away from Westminster, and afterwards continued to sit and Vote there, for raising an Army, and imbroyling the Kingdome in a most unnaturall and bloody Warre: And observe, whilest you bring to condigne punishment, the chiefe Authors and Abettors of the late Tumults, how divine Justice punisheth the authors and abettors of the first Tumults, (*viz.*) M. Holis, M. Glyn, M. Long, &c. And you who have followed the conduct of Divine providence, in some of your undertakings, and from thence onely seeme to warrant them, why will you not follow that Divine conduct in this also? Which as it is in it selfe  
warrant-



warrantable, so it cannot but be commendable in you; as tending meerely to the execution of Justice, and not to the advancing and promoting of a Party and Faction; nor is the hand of God seene more in punishing of these Offenders, then it is in the composing of your Remonstrance, which doth set forth the first Tumults, to the life, in every circumstance, and so you have a second cal from God himselve, as you prosecute the late Tumults; so to undertake the prosecution of the former, so lively represented, by your selves, to your selves, and to the whole World.

*But we shall do that right to the Speakers and Members of both Houses, who were driven away to us, and to our selves with them, as to take some speedy and effectuall course, whereby to restraine them from being their owne, and our Judges in those things, wherein they have made themselves Parties, and so to make way, that both they, and others that are guilty of, and Parties to the aforesaid Treasonable and destructive practices, and proceedings, against the freedome of Parliament, and peace of the Kingdome, may bee brought to condigne punishment, and that at the judgement of a free Parliament.*

And O that you would make way that those who were guilty of, and Parties to, the first Treasonable and destructive practices and proceedings, against the freedome of Parliament, and peace of the Kingdome, may bee brought to condigne punishment, by the due course of Law, which is the onely true, and proper Judge in this Case; And which your selves also intimate, in the foregoing Parallell next but one. And whereas you speake of the judgement of a *Free Parliament*, for my part, I think we have not had a *Free Parliament*; for almost these six

yeares last past, nor have at this day, not onely in regard of the aforesaid Practices and Proceedings, but also in regard of your Military, and Minatory Protestation and Declaration in the preceding Paralell.

And in my observation, within these seaven years last past, we have had four Parliaments (such as they are.)

1. *The Kings Parliament*, assembled by his Majestyes Writ, Nov. 3. 1640. and enjoying freedome of Vote till Dec. 1641.

2. *The Cities Parliament*, made by their tumults, and governed by their Propositions and Petitions, from Dec. 1641. to Dec. 1643.

3. *The Scots Parliament*, made and governed, by their League and Covenant, from Dec. 1643. to June 1647. all which time, the Presbyterians had the predominancy; And of this constitution also was that which you call the Apprentices Parliament.

4. *Sir Thomas Fairfax Parliament*, (lastly,) made and governed by his Army, their Addresses, Declarations, & Proposals; wherein the Independents predominate; and which may be called the Agitators Parliament.

Now of all these, the first onely, was a Legall Parliament, and all the others were Factionous Assemblies onely, conspiring against the Government of the Church, and State; and in this conspiracy, the Presbyterians and the Independents, joyned together, till they had overthrown the King and his Party: which done, they fell in pieces; and first, the Presbyterians strived to Out the Independents, and to advance their faction in Parliament: And now the Independents take their turne, and labour to Out the Presbyterians, and to advance their Faction in Parliament; and each goes the very same way to Out the other,

ther, as both at first did, to out the third party; and hence are their latter, so suitable to their former proceedings: if yet, their latter forcible practices may be called violations of the freedom of Parliament, or not rather mutuall counterworkings of the two factions to undermine and ruine one another.

But whether they agree or differ amongst themselves, they still pursue their common cause against the King and Church, and prosecute those Members that opposed them from the beginning, and oppress them dayly more and more, and so the Legall Parliament lies under the power of a continued force and violence to this day.

And that *not only in respect of those Members of Parliament, but also in respect of the King the Head of the Parliament*, whom they drove away by Tumults, together with those Members; and afterwards sent him those Bills to Passe, touching the Bishops and the Militia, together with other Propositions which they had passed in their pretended Houses of Parliament: and took up Armes afterwards to inforce him to submit to their Propositions, and to signe their Bills: and (being resolved on their Designe) would not accommodate upon any other termes with his Majesty, but continue and pursue their war, untill they had overbrowne the King, and his Party. Which done, his Majesty was first at Newcastle under Custody of the Scots Army, then removed to Holmby, and there guarded by a party, and now at last under the power of Sir Thomas Fairfax his Army, and pursued and pressed continually, with the same Bills and Propositions as formerly. Which if his Majesty shall James. 4. finally refuse (as in Honour and conscience grant them hee 1, 2, 3. cannot) then (which God avert) they are likely to make further use of their power and force upon his Majesty, and so make up the measure of their iniquity. Which done, they will turne their force upon the people, and set up their Government over them, and (having now got the whole strength of the Kingdome) compell them to submit to it, and to pay such Taxes as they shall impose, and undergo such Services, as they shall

shall enioine, and doe whatsoever they shall please to command, for the setting and establishing their Government, and so make up the measure of their tyranny. And an evidence of their intentions, and resolutions in this kind, wee have in their late proceedings with the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and Citizens of London, and that breach made upon the City, what doth it elsse but portend an inundation of Slavery upon the whole Kingdome?

Thus their whole action hath bene forcible, and violent, tumultuary, and military, and destructive of Monarchy, and of the freedome of Parliaments, and of the Liberty of the English Nation: and Monarchy and Liberty are determining together, and Poliarchy and Slavery coming in together.

*Let our strength be the Law of justice.* 2. Wi. 1. 1. Read the Chap.

But the people hoped when Cornet Joyce and his Company first obtayned his Majesty, and expected that those Champions of Liberty, and of the freedome of Parliament, would forthwith have brought his Majesty to his two Houses of Parliament, with freedome, honour, and safety, according as they intimated in their Declarations, Representations, Remonstrances, and other Papers.

See Par. 11.

11a. 2. 12

*So speak ye, and so do, as they that shall be judged by the Law of Liberty.*

And because feares and jealousies are rise, by reason of your innate and avowed Principles, and extraordinary Military preparations, Let me propose (for the satisfaction and security of the People, both in point of Regality and Liberty) that in the meane tyme, till peace bee settled, the severall Countyes and Corporations in the Kingdome, may elect and nominate the Commissioners for their respective Militia's: And that such their choice and nomination, may be free and absolute, without the interposition of the Parliament or Army, or any member of either, because they are the parties against whom the security is demanded: And heerby they shall be assured of your good intentions to the publike, and of your loyalty and fidelity to the King and Kingdome, and of peace indeed by the Treaty.

F I N I S.